1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

He didn't act as though he was surprised to see me. He stopped singing and asked me to sit down. He just talked in a social way. I don't think he suspected the reason for my visit. I asked him for a smoke. At first he hesitated. He asked me if I was allowed to smoke. I told him that my aunt let me smoke. Then he gave it to me. It is unusual for an older man to give a boy a smoke. A boy wouldn't ever ask an old Indian for a smoke; he wouldn't dare. I stayed with him for about an hour. When I left I still thought he was a witch, though I had no reason for it. I just thought he hadn't revealed himself.

The first few times I went to visit him I took pains not to be seen by others. At first I thought it was something daring to do, but after a while it wore off. Even when I was visiting him openly by myself, I used to avoid him when I was with the other boys.

I took precautions while I was going to him though. I was afraid of being witched. I didn't accept anything from him. Once I refused something, though I needed it badly. I wouldn't eat there either. If he offered me food, I always explained that I had just eaten and wasn't hungry. I did take smokes though. I wanted them pretty badly, I guess, because he could have done more harm through tobacco than through food, since tobacco is used in ceremonies. I never found out why he was suspected or met anybody he was supposed to have harmed.

PLAY

It would be a mistake to suppose that childhood is little more than an unhappy introduction to notions of death and witchcraft. Fears exist, but the normal youngster devotes far less attention to these alarming subjects than he does to his playmates and games.

The children are amazingly resourceful in exploiting the possibilities of their natural surroundings in play. Little girls, and sometimes little boys, make beads from wild-rose hips, ground cherries, and the scouring rush plant. Pine needles serve for earrings and bracelets. The girls fashion dolls from panic grass and string together ground cherries to form little figures. They then make, on a tiny scale, substitutes for all the possessions they observe in their own households. Small toy homes are constructed from a number of plants. Ferns yield pillows, blankets, and beds for the dolls. From the Jacob's-ladder are shaped little dresses for the doll, and these dresses are decorated with "jingles" of side-oats grama grass. Even a miniature of the food staple, mescal, has been found, and so the dolls go forth industriously to gather "doll's mescal" (*Androsace pinetorum*). Food is generously pro-

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

605 834 If you hide from your cousin, then anything she has, whether it is money or property, or anything else, she will give to you. You can't refuse a request from a person who hides from you. And it's the same for you if she needs anything.

[183] Since cousin avoidance is voluntary, where it will lead to complications or where the individuals concerned are likely to be thrown together constantly, it is seldom begun.

582 602 769 If marriage between cousins is prohibited, is it not difficult, in view of the small population, for a young person to find a suitable mate? Sometimes this problem does arise, and young men have been known to journey far from their homes for the purpose of making contacts which could lead to marriage. That the issue does not become more serious is due to two factors: the mobility and extensive range of these people and their anxiety to eliminate all mention and memory of the dead. Because of the first factor, families, except for nuclear groups of very close kin, tend to move apart and lose contact with each other. And because the names and antecedents of the departed are seldom mentioned, connections between remoter kin are soon forgotten when the families are separated.

605 834 182 When circumstances warrant, the cousin avoidance may be terminated and the more ordinary manner of behavior toward a relative of this degree resumed. The details of the procedure are the same as those governing the abrogation of affinal avoidance.[15]

886 481 782 *Grandparent-grandchild relationships.*—The wish for long life and old age is constantly expressed in prayer and ceremonial song. The staff on which the old person leans has become a symbol of this concept. As one commentator wryly observed: "They pray for the old age staff. They say, 'Let me be old, let me have the old age stick.' If you have the old age stick that means you have reached a long life. But when they get it, they don't like it."

888 887 [787] [852] [276] It is considered a good omen if an old person blesses a child or performs a ceremony over him, for even as this individual's power and ceremony have preserved him to a ripe age, they may protect the child for a generous time span. The same notion is present in the preparation of the first cigarette. "A person's first

[15] See pp. 174–75.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

cigarette was rolled by an old man or woman. This was done so the person could reach the age of the one who rolled it. The old person prayed and lit it for him."

Age brings prestige, if it is ever to come to an individual. The band leaders are chosen from the most forceful heads of local groups; local group leaders are the most authoritative voices of extended families. Few men who have not lived long enough to rear a large family and to see their daughters marry well head extended families. With his children and grandchildren around him and sons-in-law to do his bidding, a man may establish important alliances and gain political and economic stature. That older persons figure so prominently in the ceremonial and political life is significant for the grandparent-grandchild relations.

The rule of matrilocal residence permits constant contact between the child and his mother's parents. These kin are usually the oldest and, while they retain their vigor, the most respected members of the extended family. The family is the realization of the line they have founded. Their daughters and unmarried sons owe them obedience and deference, and their sons-in-law are bound and subordinated to them by strict social and economic rules.

The maternal grandparents concern themselves in countless ways with the child's development. They are constantly consulted by their daughter on problems of child-rearing. They are present at the first ceremonies held for the baby and contribute whatever is needed for these occasions. It is often one of these grandparents who acts as the cradle-maker and shaman of the cradle ceremony. They may suggest a first name for their grandchild. Their home is always open to him, and it is not unusual for him to sleep there. If his mother dies and his father leaves the extended family because it cannot offer him a suitable mate, the maternal grandparents are likely to rear the child.

My father was left an orphan at about six years of age and was brought up by his grandparent. It was his mother's father who took care of him. This man lived in Chiricahua country. My father lived there with him until he was twelve or fifteen years old. He was with the old man all the time. When he told about it in after years, he said he often wondered why this old man took such an interest in him. He often wondered if he was worth it, worth having so much attention

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

night eat well, for if the enemy does come you can hide yourself because of the dark and get away."

Facial hair is greatly disdained, and its growth is usually attributed to disobedience of some kind. There is a test of self-discipline related to this:

My father used to tell me, "When you are old enough to go in the creek and you are in training, every now and then walk straight into the water until it reaches the place under your nose where a moustache would begin. But if you drink the water or get it in your nose or mouth you will have a moustache." I tried this several times just for fun. The older people warned us not to let the water in; they didn't want us to have moustaches. They said that if we smoked while we were little we would get a moustache too.

The last sentence of this quotation calls attention to another matter concerning which the boy receives instruction at about this time. Smoking is the prerogative of the warriors and of the older women:

They tell a boy that he will have to catch a coyote first before he can smoke, but they mean it just as a joke. Some try it, of course; that's what they tell the boys to do it for, to see them try something that no boy can do. It's just like sending a boy for the thing they call "that with which one smokes."

Among older men the admonition is used in jest: "Not long ago when I lit a cigarette an old man said to me, 'When did you catch your coyote?' I told him, 'I've never done it, and I don't believe you ever did either.' He only laughed." To smoke during the boyhood or the training period is said to make a boy "lazy and no good at work."

Gradually the boys become inured to the demands made upon them and even devise tests of character for themselves. To demonstrate their bravery, they place dry sage or the pith of the sunflower stalk on their skins, ignite it, and let it burn to ash. Even though they are burned severely enough to show a scar years later, they must not flinch.

The training described thus far is entirely in the hands of the immediate family, but, when the youth reaches the age of puberty, this hardening process takes a more formalized turn. The father lets his son know that momentous days are ahead: "There are harder things to be learned later. When you are a little older,

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

fire pit is flanked at each cardinal point by a flat rock painted red on top. These "stand for" the mescal or century plant, a food staple, and act as a prayer that the girl may find and prepare an abundant supply of mescal in the course of her life. A stone bowl, the mortar for the paints of the ceremony, is set toward the east this first night. This, too, will be moved each night.

The singer rolls a cigarette, lights it with the slow fuse, and smokes and prays. His voice is hardly audible. The attendant, using the same fuse, also offers smoke ceremonially. Then the singer starts to shake the hoof rattle which he holds in his right hand and begins his first song.

The songs of this ceremony are in reality a journey in which the girl is brought to the holy home and from there is conducted symbolically through a long and successful life.

We think of a woman's life as blocked out in parts. One is girlhood, one is young womanhood, one is middle age, and one is old age. The songs are supposed to carry her through them. The first songs describe the holy home and the ceremony. Later come the songs about the flowers and the growing things. These stand for her youth, and as the songs go through the seasons the girl is growing up and reaching old age.

At the conclusion of a song the singer explained:

This song is about flowers. We are taking this girl through a beautiful life. This is the conception of a beautiful life for the Apache. We take the girl through beautiful lands, past flowers, through seasons with their fruits. The translation doesn't mean much, but there is a great deal to it if you think about it.

There is a general tendency to move, as the songs continue, from the more remote and abstract qualities to the growing things of the earth.

The big ceremony starts with songs of the sun, the moon, and such things. Then comes the earth. Then the songs are mostly about the earth and the things that grow on it, about the fruits, the trees, the plants; about even the children. Nothing is left out. . . .

. . . . On the fourth night the songs deal with all the different grasses and carry them through all the different stages of development, from spring to winter. Then by morning we are through.

The songs belong to two general groups, and each kind of song is accompanied by a different dance. Most numerous are the "shuffling-step" songs, and, when these are sung, the girl stands,

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

raises her arms upright from the elbows with palms outward, holds her feet close together, and moves from left to right and right to left by alternately pivoting on her toes and her heels. The second type of song calls for an "in-place" step and provides rest from the exertions of the first type. In its performance the girl sways in place with her hands on her hips.[13]

Because of the repetition of its verses, each song is long, and the shuffling step is very tiring. But, whenever the girl is weary, she may stop and kneel, even though the song is not finished. The singer makes no attempt to test or to overtax her.

The singer watches the girl and uses his judgment. The idea is not to let her get too tired. There is the dance the girls do with their arms up. The word for it means "shuffling," sliding to a place as a horse does. They sing about six songs of this kind and then change to the one where the girl dances in place with her hands on her hips. The singer tells the girl which dance to do if she does not know. They sing fewer songs of this second kind. These are just to rest the girl.

Every fourth, sixth, or twelfth song may be set aside for a "smoking song," after which the singer smokes or prays:

After about six songs they have a smoking song. They smoke after this song; all those inside can smoke then. There is no dancing during the smoking song. The girl can rest; she can kneel but cannot sit. She must have her body erect. There are many of the smoking songs. After this they start singing and dancing again.

The initial song of the first night is of the shuffling-step type. "This is the first song sung. It is the home's own song, the first one sung when they are in there." The second song, also of the shuffling-step variety, simply repeats between refrains these words:

I have walked well
Into the home of White Painted Woman.

Now follow songs of the singer's choosing, fixed only in accordance with the general pattern already outlined. No definite number of songs need be sung during the night. One singer remarked:

[13] An informant described a third step, which he claims was formerly danced by the pubescent girl. "It is called 'walking around.' The girl has her arms up and her elbows pointed down. She walks forward, turns toward the south, and comes back, doing this four times. It's mostly to rest and relax." This step is not performed now.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

The translation below indicates the character of the third type of song—the smoking song. Often, when the men who are sitting just outside the structure singing and drumming for the masked dancers hear one of these songs, they also pause to smoke.

[539]

The time for smoking has come.
With the sun's tobacco let all be made pleasant.
From here on let good constantly follow,
From now on let many old men and old women rejoice;
Let them come back to many ceremonies like this;
Let all the girls be happy;
Let them know many ceremonies like this;
Let all rejoice;
Let all the boys rejoice;
Let them attend many ceremonies like this.

The dancing within the ceremonial structure is brought to an early close the first night. Sometimes the masked dancers are still circling the fire as the singer, the attendant, and the girl file sunwise from the holy home. If this is the case, the girl may be asked to shuffle around the fire in the wake of the masked impersonators before leaving for her camp. Meanwhile the attendant has gathered up the hide, the rattle, and the feather and will keep them until they are needed on the following night.

The social dancing.—If the masked dancers have not left before the girl has concluded her dance within the ceremonial structure, they disappear for the night soon afterward. But the evening's activities have scarcely begun for the visitors. Social dancing is closely associated in the popular mind with the ceremony, for this is one of the few occasions which brings together enough people to make it possible. The dances take place every night and must follow an invariable order.

The songs for the social dances contrast markedly with the sacred music:

[535]

With the social dance songs it is different. They don't belong to any one person. Anyone can sing them. Anyone can make up his own, and, if it is a good one and the people like it, he and others will keep singing it. Anyone can join in these songs if he knows them, even in the part with the words. These songs are funny. You can say almost anything in them.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(Ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

he coughed up nasty yellow stuff that tasted bad. They said this came from smoking too much. The yellow in the tobacco just got in the stomach, and more and more accumulated until a person could spit it out. Sometimes a person got pretty bad and began to spit blood—have what you call hemorrhage now, I guess.

The Chiricahua thought you could catch this from someone who had it, and that you got it from having intercourse with someone who had it. So a man would be ashamed to admit that he was spitting blood or yellow pus for fear that someone would say he had had intercourse with a woman who had this.

The Chiricahua had remedies for this. Some used "narrow medicine" [*Perezia wrightii*] for tuberculosis.[1] But lots of them were ashamed and waited until it was too late to save them.

Love ceremonies.—Love ceremonies are carried on by some men and women for their own purposes or, upon request and payment, for others who seek them out. Though this type of ritual is not equated with witchcraft, "charmers" are seldom talkative about their art. The danger in wielding a love ceremony is that the person who is to be influenced may detect and resist the onslaught. "Often a love ceremony that fails or is improperly performed makes a person crazy. There is a ceremony to cure the effects of the love craziness."

Certain objects and motifs occur time and again in love ceremonies. The four-holed flageolet, made of carrizo, is one of these:

There were very few who played the flute. I've seen flutes played, but the Chiricahua didn't pay much attention to them. The flute must have come from the Western Apache. They use it a great deal. The Chiricahua feel that, when anyone is playing on the flute like that, it's not a good thing. It is connected with love magic, and they don't like it. Only people with love ceremonies use it, it seems.

Many charges concerning the possession of love power are undoubtedly inspired by rivalry and jealousy. Exceptional success in gaining the attentions of the other sex, or polygyny involving a man of but ordinary means, may lead to the same suspicion:

The hummingbird is ceremonially used. I think some use it in love ceremonies and to influence girls just as they use the butterfly. R., they say, knows this

[1] Tuberculosis can also be caused by worms. In a trickster tale, Coyote, wishing to deceive his family, tells them he has lung trouble and that they should leave him for dead if worms drop to the ground from his bed. That the "worms" may really drop, he takes spoiled meat to bed with him.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

602
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[195] polite form at this time. You can say anything you want in polite form. This may occur at a birth, when a woman labors so hard that some man who knows how to take care of her is needed. Then they overlook it.

Obligatory avoidances cannot be permanently ended while the woman because of whom the relationship was established is still alive. Even where avoidance was optional, "almost always the woman whose marriage had started the relationship would be asked first and her approval gained if she were still alive."

A man might have bad luck. One after another of his relatives might die. There might be a certain relative whom he avoids, but who he thinks might give him good advice and encouragement if he could talk matters over with him. So he tells his wife that he does not want to avoid her relative any more. If she thinks it is all right, he rolls a cigarette, takes a few puffs on it, and sends it to the relative with word that, after this, they should not hide from each other. If the relative takes the cigarette and smokes it too, it is all over, and they do not hide from each other after that.

The first move may come from either affinal relative:

There was an equal right for either the husband or the woman's relative to roll and send the cigarette. A man might say to his wife: "I no longer want to avoid your brother. I want to be with him and go with him and speak with him." If his wife approved, he would have her take over the cigarette. When the avoidance is broken off like this we say, "It has become again that one goes to him."

[276] Cigarettes offered in this fashion do not have to be accepted:

When a cigarette was offered in this way to end an avoidance relationship, it could be refused, but this refusal would never show anger on the part of the person who refused. A man might say: "We have hidden from each other all these years. All this time we have helped each other and thought well of each other. I do not think our relations would be helped by this move. I would rather hide from you for the rest of my life."

Even when avoidance is abrogated, a measure of formality is retained. "If the two who are hiding from each other smoke a cigarette like that, they don't have to hide from each other any
[195] more. But they have to keep on with the polite form."

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[586] After the death of a man's wife and his remarriage, the obligatory avoidance observances between him and relatives of his first wife may be terminated:

If the family has no more girls he can marry and a man gets permission to marry out of the family after his wife's death, perhaps he will not want to avoid his first wife's father any longer. In that case he will take a cigarette and go

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

nevertheless is called female rain." To stop rain or snow, lice are hunted and tied to a rock with sinew; or an individual may draw a charcoal ring around his anus and lift his buttocks to the sky to bring the sun out. Sudden storms are regarded with fear. "If it doesn't look like rain, but then the wind and dust come up suddenly and it starts to rain, it brings news—bad news of death. If someone is very sick and this happens, it means he won't last. I have seen it happen."

Various things are seen in the half or full moon, the most common being walnut or cottonwood trees and a human face. Some persons think that watching the sunrise or sunset colors will cause sickness. Warts are also the penalty for pointing to heavenly bodies with the fingers; only the thumb may be so used.

Pulling out gray hair is said to make it grow faster; it is also held that one who brings water and drinks first himself will grow old quickly. It is forbidden to step over a person who is sitting or lying down: "If someone starts to step over you before he sees you, he has to go back. If he has already stepped over, he has to step back." Because it "may cause a severe pain in the stomach, food which is being cooked is not stirred with a knife." Eating frogs can result, it is thought, in bowlegs. Blood and tobacco are considered incompatible:

> My people don't want any blood around when they smoke. If there is blood on the hands, they will get it off before they smoke. If a person has a knife with blood on it, he cleans it up or puts it away before he smokes. He will have bad luck otherwise.

Much of the cosmology is expressed in terms similar to the beliefs already enumerated. Thus, the pitching of a flour-laden burro explains the Milky Way; an earthquake is the crying of the earth over an approaching epidemic; eclipses, either of the sun or of the moon, warn of epidemics also and necessitate a masked-dancer ceremony to ward off the disaster; a shooting star points to an advancing enemy; of a cloudburst it is said, "The sky is old and has split there; when it is sewed up it will be all right."

Of greater significance than such beliefs is a diagnostic sign, a muscular tremor, which few fail to heed at some time in their lives:

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

755 756 [824] [778]

the substitution of pollen from piñon, oak, pine, sunflower, or, in later days, corn.

Besides the substances and objects already mentioned as ceremonial gifts to the shaman, many others, supplied by the shaman himself, may be used in the rite. Some of these are: white clay, red ocher, coral, rock crystal, opal, jaspar, gypsum, snakeweed, grama grass, the bezoar, the enema tube, and a decorated "age staff" upon which the shaman leans during his songs.

After all have come together, the shaman rolls a cigarette and blows smoke to the four directions: [276] [823] [788]

He smokes ceremonially, sends the smoke up. First he puffs to the four directions. As he blows smoke to each direction he says, "May it be well." He might say as he smokes, "There are good and evil on this earth. We live in the midst of it. Let all be living in peace. I want nothing to harm us. We only want food and other good things."

An impromptu prayer calling upon the power source for aid is likely to follow the ceremonial cigarette: [782]

This woman is in poor health. I want her to live. She has been searching for something good. This evening I hope that what is wrong with her life will disappear and that she will have a good life. Now I am going to tell you something. You must do right now what you promised me to do. Your power must go into the life of this poor woman.

At this juncture, that the patient by his belief and the audience by their "good thoughts" may please the power source and insure its co-operation, the shaman may describe the acquisition of his ceremony and its virtues. Another gesture implying faith is the reciprocal marking of the shaman and the patient with a sacred substance. Pollen is most often so used, but specular iron ore, red ocher, or white clay may be substituted. "Every shaman is known by his individual way of using pollen. Some put it to the four directions and up and down, some around the back of the neck and on the shoulders of the patient. Each man keeps his own way." The shaman may even mark everyone present in like manner, drawing the entire gathering into a spiritual brotherhood. The pollen, like all ceremonial objects or substances employed in the ritual, is held first to the cardinal directions, beginning with the east, and then moved in a sunwise circuit. 755 756 788 [823]

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

not get a man well, I know that the man is mistaken about his trouble. If I get a person well, I usually get other payment besides the ceremonial gifts. For the ceremonial gifts I must receive a horse, a piece of turquoise with an eagle feather stuck through a hole in it, and an unblemished buckskin, these four things. They must be given before the ceremony starts. I have the feathers on my hat and the turquoise I wear through the ceremony.

The ceremony can take place in the day or the night, but it has to be continued for four days or four nights. If a person got struck or frightened by lightning in the afternoon, the ceremony would begin in the afternoon. I try to begin it at about the same time of day or night that the experience with lightning occurred.

First of all in my ceremony I smoke. I blow the smoke to the four directions, calling each by its color name. Then I call on Thunder and say, "Before you did this to him, this man's body and spirit were in a healthy condition. Now he is sick. I plead with you to breathe some of your spirit into this man, to make him over as he should be."

I have to have medicine for the sick person too. To make this medicine I take wood from a tree which has been struck by lightning, burn it, take the ashes, and put them in cool water. Scrapings from abalone shell are put with it too. With the ashes I make a lightning design (a zigzag) on the four sides of the cup. And I make the lightning design on the man's face, running it into the mouth. I pray, and while I pray I raise the cup upward four times, then toward the patient three times, and make the patient drink on the fourth.

Then I begin with the songs. This is my first song:

He in the sky who is holy,
He who is Black Thunder
Who put up the earth,
He zigzags down with life
To impart life to her body;
He in the sky who is holy,
Black Thunder, my father.

This same song is sung to the other directions; the color terms alone change. At the end of the second song I push the chest, back, and sides of the patient with my hand four times and then blow the evil influence away. While I am singing, I am asking help of my power.

After the four songs I pray again. This last part changes to suit the occasion. Then the ceremony for this one day or night is finished. This power of mine comes from Thunder. Thunder power carries you to old age.

I have a hat that goes with this ceremony. I was ordered by a dream to make the hat. I do not use the hat in the ceremony or use it at all. I was told in my dream that the hat would just be for luck in the ceremony. But the hat belongs to Lightning; it belongs to this ceremony. It is copied after the old way.

I lost this hat one time. Later I was walking with four men. We were hunting

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

262 it differently. Then they gather them green, and each woman cuts a long stick,
252 six or seven feet long, just heavy enough so that a person can sit there all day long hitting the nuts and hulling them. One woman will be sitting with hers spread out on the ground before her; another will be a little distance away. They
[251] have to do this near water, near a creek, and wash them. Next they spread them out to dry for many days when the weather is good.

Then in wintertime they use the nuts with mesquite beans or mescal. They sit there and pound the nuts with a stone, shell and all, just as fine as possible. The mesquite beans are boiled and strained. For a strainer they use sticks that cross or a branch that has many twigs. This catches nearly all the coarse material. Then they put the nuts in but do not boil the mixture any more. It is ready to eat then.

When this is finished, you can dip in there with your bowl and hold it to your
[881] mouth and drink it like soup. This food is used nearly always at the girl's puberty rite.

• [276] It's just the opposite from chewing tobacco. When you chew tobacco, you spit out the juice and leave in the coarse stuff; when you eat this, you swallow the juice and spit out the coarse stuff.

[184] An Eastern Chiricahua added to the above that his people boil the meats of walnuts as well.

222 The nuts of the Western yellow pine are not large enough to
262 gain much attention: "We don't pick them much; just a few now and then." Of much more importance are the seeds of the
[25?] piñon pine. "When the outside shell is still green, the women pick many of them, heat them, and then, when they are shaken or stroked, the little nuts come out. Some ripen on the trees by themselves, open, and the nuts fall to the ground. The women pick these up too."

252 The women parch the piñon nuts for a few minutes until "they
262 get a little darker; then they will keep." There are a number of
[251] ways of utilizing the seeds. They may be cracked with a stone and the meats eaten alone, or the meats, when a sufficient quantity of them is shelled, "are mixed with yucca fruit which has been baked on coals; it makes good eating." As in the preparation of walnuts, the seeds, shell and all, may be ground fine on the metate and mixed with other foods. Mesquite beans, mescal, yucca fruit, and sumac berries have been mentioned as other foods with which they are combined.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

Then they came to the story where Coyote tells his mother-in-law to put her arm in the log after the rabbit because her arm is longer. Right there E. caught him. He jumped up. He cursed and said, "You just talk about me all the time!" 538 522

The old man laughed. "What's the matter? Why do you get mad? Was it you? Are you that Coyote?"

E. was so mad he walked out. The old man called after him, "You must have been that Coyote."

It was surely funny to watch E. try to catch the old man at it. The old man sat there whittling. Just as soon as E. looked away, he'd motion with two fingers and say, "I guess it's this one," and when E. would look up, there the old man would be, whittling away as before.

SMOKING

Smoking adds to the pleasure and relaxation when old tales are recounted. Before the distribution of trader's supplies, tobacco was very scarce. Consequently, it was used mostly for ceremonial purposes and was looked upon as a great luxury on social occasions. Boys were counseled not to smoke until after the training period, and it was thought unbecoming for women under middle age to use tobacco, except as ritual might demand it. The source and use of the wild tobacco are described as follows: 276 [796]

Before the white man's tobacco came in, the Chiricahua found their tobacco out in the woods or out in the Arizona plains. It grows in reddish soil. It is a low plant, and you cannot find a great deal of it together. The plants have white and yellow flowers and long narrow leaves, about four inches wide or less. It doesn't grow everywhere but just in certain places, and it is therefore hard to get. We pick it and let it dry out in the sun. Some sprinkle mescal juice on it and then let it dry. This wild tobacco is milder than the present tobacco we get. Often this tobacco is used with other plants. Sumac leaves are picked, dried, crushed, and put with it, and sage is too. [824]

The tobacco we found was called "big tobacco." It was used for social purposes as well as for ceremony. It was passed around at private gatherings or at story-telling. But it was not so common. You just saw it here and there, because it was so scarce. Boys were not allowed to smoke, and just old women were allowed to smoke. When we fought Mexicans we took their tobacco. When the white man's tobacco first came in, it was pretty scarce. If you had a good horse, you would give it for one cigarette of the white or Mexican kind. [435]

In the old way, when the tobacco is ready, they crumble it up. They use the leaf of the oak for a cigarette paper. They take the fresh leaf in summer, but sometimes they carry them in a bundle, one on top of the other. Every now and then they wet the leaves to keep them in shape. And they get cornhusks that they use. Many times I've seen old men sitting on the sunny side of the camps [824]

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

276 peeling cornhusks. They carry these in a bundle too. Even cornhusks were hard to get in those days.

To illustrate the value and scarcity of tobacco before reservation days, the following story was given with this introduction: "Someone told this at the store, and I heard one of the young fellows say, 'Oh, that's nothing but a lie!' But I can believe it, for I know how scarce tobacco was in those days."

[435] Tobacco was very, very valuable in the old days. Just enough to make one cigarette was worth a horse, and horses were very, very valuable, too, then. Two old men were camped near each other. One had some tobacco and the other had none. The man who had no tobacco came over to the place where his friend was smoking. He sat there watching him smoke and hoping he would offer him some, but he did not. Then he hoped he would get the butt out of it, but he knew that this fellow smoked his cigarettes right down to the end. He was getting more and more eager for some, yet he hated to ask right out.

Finally, the one who was smoking said, "Well, it is late. I guess I'll go to sleep after this smoke." The man who had no tobacco could not hold himself in any more. He said, "Friend, give me just one puff of that cigarette before you finish it and I'll take it back to my camp, holding my breath, and I'll inhale it when I get over there in bed." And he did that. He held that smoke in his mouth until he got over in his camp and then he inhaled it, making noises showing his relief.

Tobacco is smoked in a small tubular clay pipe as well as in cigarettes. Men usually make these pipes, though women occasionally make them too. They are four or five inches long and cone shaped, tapering from the front to the end which is held in [323] the mouth. To make these pipes, a thin coat of clay of the right consistency is spread over a wooden mold and is allowed to become partially dry before removal. Smoking completes the drying process. When the pipe is freshly filled with tobacco, it must be tilted upward to prevent the burning embers from falling out, but after it has been smoked for some time this is unnecessary. These pipes are never designed. Evidently they were never very common or numerous. "Some make pipes out of clay. But very few do this. These Chiricahua Indians never bother much about pipes. If they get hold of a cigarette, they smoke it, but they don't have many pipes."

A tubular pipe drawn by a Southern Chiricahua informant has a short projection or handle on the underside near the stem end.

1:O r E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

All other illustrations secured lack this feature, however. A small pipe cut with a knife from soft limestone was described by another informant. Since this pipe resembles the modern American pipe and must be made with a metal knife, it is probably a more recent type. As a less durable approximation to the tubular clay pipe, blades of the broad-leafed yucca are rolled into the same shape and are used as long as they last. One informant said that he has also seen a length of reed filled with tobacco and smoked.

SPORTS AND GAMES OF ADULTS

Games and sports comprise much of adult recreation. The various arrow games already described in the section on children's pastimes—shooting for distance or for accuracy, sliding arrows, and the play which has been likened to blind man's buff—are popular with grownups as well. Men also play the bone or "heads and tails" game and the marble games.[4]

Competitions in tug-of-war and wrestling are frequently arranged. A variant of the usual tug-of-war is to fasten a rawhide rope around the waist of a very strong man. Three others hold the free end of the rope, along which knots have been tied to afford them a grip. The man to whom the rope is fastened is further handicapped by having a fourth member of the opposition attempt to hold him down. If he manages to arise, nevertheless, and to drag forward the three who are bracing themselves at the other end of the rope, he is the winner.

Keen interest is manifested in wrestling:

> We wrestle a great deal. Some men are expert and are just like professionals. They even wrestle with men from other tribes who come here. Big sums are bet. The wrestlers start by holding each other around the middle. After they begin, tripping, twisting the arm, or anything is allowed. When one man is under the other, it ends. It doesn't matter which part of his body touches, as long as one man is off his feet and the other man is on top. Sometimes it lasts for hours.

Most contests of chance and skill involve gambling, and it behooves anyone who wagers seriously to have his luck ceremonially safeguarded:

[4] See pp. 50–53.

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
CHIRICAHUA
MESCALERO

Not uncommonly the Mescalero women, too, wore leggings and braided (but did not wrap) her hair. The Chiricahua woman wore no leggings. Her hair was gathered at the back of the head, tied there, and covered with a decorated form of hour-glass shape. The Mescalero plucked the eyebrows, a practice which the Chiricahua never followed.

The tendency of the Mescalero to draw inspiration from the Plains is observable in many other aspects of the culture, particularly in the war complex. The round, rawhide shield was of more frequent occurrence among the Mescalero than among the Chiricahua. The Mescalero always made a designed buckskin cover for the shield, whereas the Chiricahua shield lacked a buckskin cover more often than not, the decoration being painted directly upon the rawhide. The trailing feather headdress is associated with Mescalero war practices but it is not to be found for the Chiricahua. The same differentiation may be observed for scalping. While the Mescalero warrior was by no means as interested in scalping as his Plains counterpart, he had distinctly more feeling for the practice than did the Chiricahua. Upon the return of a successful war party, it was an integral part of the celebration for the Mescalero fighters to relate the character of their exploits and for their fellow warriors to bear witness to their bravery and veracity. This usage was unknown to Chiricahua warfare.

It seems patent that the essential divergences between Chiricahua and Mescalero cultures can be defined in terms of the eastern position of the latter which made possible contact and association with the buffalo-hunting tribes of the southern plains. Even in matters ceremonial this criterion proves sound. The sole major variation between Mescalero and Chiricahua ritual life is that the Mescalero carried on peyote ceremonies and the Chiricahua did not. Since the greatest development of the peyote cults occurred among the Plains tribes and their immediate neighbors, this tribal difference can likewise be laid to geographical position.

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
CHIRICAHUA
MESCALERO

534 For musical instruments these Apache used the drum, the animal-hoof rattle, the musical bow, the flageolet, and a curious one-stringed fiddle made from the flowering stalk of sotol which may be of Spanish origin. In their peyote rite [276] [796] the Mescaleros accompanied their songs with the gourd rattle.

411 In addition to the shield and the bow and arrow, which have already been mentioned, the Mescalero and Chiricahua fought with spears, slings, flint knives, and war clubs of a number of types. Quivers, bow covers, and wrist-guards were other material items belonging to the war complex.

433 That these people made cradle-boards, fire drills, parfleches, skin tipis, and cloths and blankets of buckskin and animal hides has already been indicated. Water transportation 501 was solved by the construction of a crude bull-boat or raft-like structure.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

596 The tribe, band, and local group have already been described. The remaining social segment is the extended domestic family, which acted as the basic economic unit. Such an extended family would be housed in a cluster of individual dwellings and would ideally consist in an older married couple, their unmarried children, their married daughters, the sons-in-law, and the issue of these. As can be in- [591] ferred from this, residence was matrilocal. All the cooking [252] for the members of this family group was carried on at one place by the mother and her daughters, and the latter sub- [606] sequently took portions of the prepared food to their husbands and children, for a mother-in-law—son-in-law avoid- [476] ance was in effect. Whenever there was work to be done which involved the labor of more than one person, the men or women of this extended family, according to the nature of the task, assisted each other in its execution.

584 Marriage was arranged between the older kin of the man and woman involved, usually at the instigation of the young man, who, with the approval of his own relatives,

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
CHIRICAHUA
MESCALERO

272
137 *canum)*, is the beverage known as *gaxe*. (This Indian word was derived from the Spanish word for coffee.)

* * *

• 276 [137] The Apache used a few species of plants as narcotics. One of these was *Broussonetia secundiflora*, known as "mountain laurel," and also by the Spanish names *frijollito* or *frijolilla*. It is a beautiful evergreen shrub with glossy dark green leaves, common in the Guadalupe Mountains southwest of Carlsbad, although these Apache report having gathered bags full of beans on the roadside in the hills twenty miles from Roswell, as well as in Mexico.

The large, scarlet beans of this legume have been widely reported as being poisonous, having rather marked narcotic effects. The Apache are well aware of its narcotic effect. In [193] one of their stories the trickster, coyote, intoxicates a party of prospectors by means of the beans. Present day Apache [293] are not familiar with its use in *tulbai* but they report that the beans were formerly mixed with that beverage occasionally. One of our informants, speaking of the beans, said, "One day I felt sleepy. I ate two of these beans out of a pod. It sure waked me up. I didn't see anything. I just felt good." The beans were rarely eaten by the Apache, however. These seeds were also used ceremonially and an occasional Apache might be seen to wear a string of the red beans around his neck. According to Havard *(10:39)* these seeds contain an alkaloid, sophorine, which is a strong irritant narcotic poison. He also records that, according to Bellanger, the Indians near San Antonio, Texas, formerly used them as an intoxicant, half a bean producing "delirious exhiliration followed by a sleep which lasts two or three days" and that a whole bean would cause death.

[171] Peyote or the Dumpling Cactus *(Lophophora williamsii)*, which contains a powerful alkaloid, was formerly in [137] common use by the the Indians of northern Mexico who sliced and dried the plant and employed it in association with their [177] ceremonial dances *(27:104)*. It is reported that the use of Peyote by the Indians was learned from the Mexicans *(23:1)*.

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
CHIRICAHUA
MESCALERO

It is not generally known that the Mescalero Apache (not the Chiricahua) ate peyote. They are not represented on Shonle's *(26)* map of the distribution of the use of peyote in the United States nor are they listed in the booklet compiled under the authority of the Bureau of Indian Affairs *(17)*. Opler *(22)* has shown, however, that the Mescalero Apache once practiced elaborate ceremonies centering around the utilization of peyote and he has gathered considerable data from former peyote eaters regarding the details of these rites and their place in the religious life of the tribe.

One of our informers said: "I ate it once in Oklahoma four or five years ago. I ate five ('buttons') my first time. It sure tasted strong. A man put eagle feathers over me and said, 'Go on and eat.' I did. I ate one at a time. They were bigger than the ones you have. They were green yet. One man ate 106 of them." The alkaloid of the plants affects the eyes and produces trances in which one has fantastic and colorful visions *(26:1)* but it is neither intoxicating nor habit forming. These Apache also claim that if the hairs from the plant get into your eyes they destroy the eyesight. Details concerning chemical composition and physiological and psychological effects of peyote are given in a bulletin by the office of Indian Affairs *(23)*.

The small, red fruits of the turkey or coyote cactus *(Opuntia leptocaulis)*, known among the Spanish-Americans as *tasajulla* and *garrambulo*, are still used by being crushed and mixed with *tulbái*. They are reported as having such pronounced narcotic effects that the Indians will not walk close to plants which bear them, and they claim that eating a single fruit will make one "drunk and dizzy."

These Apache do not now and apparently never have used Jimson weed *(Datura meteloides)*, or any other species of the genus, as a narcotic.